CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION
Legislature and Legislative Politics more than any other aspect of the political system continue to be the focus of studies of scholars of political process. But there has taken place a shift from the purely normative interpretations in the Legal-historical method to an empirical behavioural approach. The "Legislative role" and the model methodology of legislative role-analysis which emerged from the seminal work of Wahlke et al. nearly made a breakthrough in the history

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1 See Comparative Development Studies Centre, Comparative Legislatures: A Select Bibliography (Albany: State University of New York, 1974); and David F. Nager & Manindra K. Mohapatra, Cross-National Legislative Institutions, Processes and Behavior: A Bibliography (Norfolk: Old Dominion University Research Foundation, 1974).


of study of comparative legislative politics. Wahlke and his co-researchers applied the 'role-analysis' approach to the study of legislative behaviour and structured a number of role-typologies on the basis of the legislators' own perceptual orientations towards their roles in the legislative system. This was replicated in the American legislative context by Roger Davidson, in his study of the role of the U.S. Congressman. But this new trend in the study of the legislative system remained largely parochial as its influence could not transcend the American/Western frontiers for sometime. But, however, the nineteen seventies witnessed a gradual development of interest on the part of scholars in studies on legislatures of developing non-western political systems. At the same time, the concept of "Legislative role analysis", as developed by Wahlke et al.'s


research work, inspired a number of role-analysis studies in non-western settings to come up during this period, though some of them constructed different role types to suit to the settings of their studies. Roles with new nomenclatures evolved out of emphasis on different dimensions of the legislator's role behaviour.

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8 See, for example, Hopkins, *Political Roles in a New State*, op.cit.; Chang Heng Chee, "Role of Parliamentary Politicians in Singapore", op.cit.; Michael Mezey, "Functions of a Minimal Legislature - Role Perceptions of Thai Legislators", op.cit.

In the Indian context, some studies which utilised this theoretical construct of role-theory for analysing legislative behaviour, introduced a new chapter, in the study of Indian legislative behaviour, as distinct from the earlier studies in this area. Some of these works created new role-constructs also. Empirical studies on Orissa Legislators' behaviour which followed the Ahlke et al. 's model of analysis have not uniformly followed their role typologies.

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REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Neal Gross, Wards Mason, Alexander W. Seachern, *Explorations in Role Analysis: Studies of the School Superintendent Role* (1958; 4th pt., 1966) explores the problems of consensus on role definition, conformity to expectations, and role-conflict resolution. It reports an empirical study on role of the school superintendent and examines the conceptualisations of role in the social science literature and certain postulates embedded in them.

John C. Wahlke, "Behavioural Analyses of Representative Bodies" in Austin Ranney (ed.) *Essays in the Behavioural Study of Politics* (1962) deals with the varieties of Behavioural Analysis: Character and Recruitment of representatives, motivations and behaviour of individual representatives, decisions by representative bodies; and the methodological problems like types and sources of data. It talks about the limitations of the method of observation of overt actions and stresses on the suitability and popularity of the study of attitudinal perceptions of the individuals, and highlights the idea of relating behavioural analyses in respect of the political functions of representation and legislation.

Wahlke et al., *The Legislative System* (1962) provides a seminal work on comparative legislative politics, which,
particularly, analyzes legislative role within the contrasting political systems of four states. The legislature embedded in the context of its entire political system is viewed as a system of legislative roles, which the legislators develop in response not only to the norms of the legislature or others in the legislature, but also to the actors in other sub-systems of the political system. Dealing primarily with the perceptual orientations of legislators to their roles, it discusses the variables that influence the shaping of the legislators' role-potential.

James D. Barber, *The Law Maker* (1965) studies the pattern of recruitment and adaptation of the freshmen Connecticut legislators into legislative life and deals with role typologies, based on the degree of adaptation to legislative life.

Heinz Bialau and Katherine Hinkley, "Legislative Institutions and Processes" in Robinson (ed.) *Political Science Annual* (1966) deals with the new trend in Legislative Research in which the legislator is taken for the unit of analysis and the study is based on not only the acts of the legislator but his orientations to actions. And with the legislator being the micro-unit of inquiry, the legislature becomes the macro-unit, and the study focuses on the effects of the structural properties of the Legislative system on the motivations and behaviour of the legislators.
K.C. Wheare, *Legislatures* (1968) offers an excellent study on both the compositional and functional characteristics of legislatures which includes a comparative account of the size and composition of legislatures of a number of countries and of their functions. It also deals with the influences of the outside pressures on the legislature, and the problems of the decline of the legislature.

Samuel C. Patterson (ed) *American Legislative Behaviour: A Reader* (1966) provides a good number of studies on representation, legislative actors, legislative structure, role expectations and perceptions, legislature's communication system. It also provides studies on legislators' overt actions, and essays on trend of behavioural and comparative studies on legislative systems.

Roger Davidson, *Role of the Congressman* (1969) replicates the Wahlke et al's model of research design in studying the role orientations of the U.S. Congressmen.

Anthony Barker and Michael Rush, *The M.P. and His Information* (1970) is devoted to an empirical study of the flow of information to the British member of parliament, and the mechanics of the British parliamentary works. It deals with the members' outlooks on their current political roles with particular highlights on their constituency work; or "the welfare officer role".
Malcolm J. Jewell, "A Reappraisal of the Legislative System" (1970) deals with the concept of the legislative system, and particularly, studies the influence of Wahlke et al's model of the legislative system on the research trend.

Kornberg and Usolf (ed), *Legislatures in Developmental Perspective* (1970) is a nice collection of studies on developing countries based on the application of role theory model to the study of legislative behavior: for example, Jewell's "Attitudinal determinants of Legislative Behavior" deals with the utility of role analysis in cross-national legislative research, and a casual model indicative of the variables affecting legislative roles.


Raymond Hopkins in "The Role of *... in Tanzania" (1970) and his *Political Roles in a New State* (1971) constructs new role types like intellectuals, politicos, locals and silent partners, and describes that legislators act more as agents of the regime and less as spokesmen of the constituents/people. The legislature is used to obtain support from the people for the government.
Roderick Bell, "Notes for a theory of legislative Behaviour" in Herbert Hirsch and Donald Hancock (eds) *Comparative Legislative Systems* (1971) gives an account of the variety of conceptual approaches which have been evolved in the process of analyzing the legislative systems.

Allan Kornberg (ed) *Legislatures in Comparative Perspective* (1973) is devoted to comparative studies on legislatures of many developing countries: for example, Carlos Alberto Astz's "The decay of Latin American Legislatures" discusses how the position of the Latin Legislature is circumscribed by executive or military agencies, and it is not necessarily representative as the military or the executive may be more representative than the legislature. Jewell, "Linkages between legislative parties and external parties" in Kornberg (ed) (1973) deals with the linkages between the legislature and its outside world in the dimension of the legislative party.

Jean Blondel, *Comparative Legislatures* (1973) is a very scientific comparative study on the institutionalization, status and role of parliamentary institutions in various countries. It deals with the structure and function of legislatures in industrialized and non-industrialized countries, also.

*Comparative Development Studies Centre, Comparative Legislatures: Select Bibliography* (1974); and David F. Hager
and M. K. Mohapatra, *Cross-National Legislative Institutions, Process and Behaviour: A Bibliography* (1974) - both provide specialized bibliographic references indicating the magnitude of literature on legislative institutions. These two books give the impression of how legislative institutions have received greater attention of researchers and political scientists.

Chan Heng Chee "Role of Parliamentary Politicians in Singapore" (1976) creates new role types, suiting to the Singaporean political situation. It is pointed out that despite sixteen registered political parties only people's Action Party (PAP) has been making governments since the first general election of the State in 1959. Chee has created new role types like Technocrats, Mobilisers, Malay-Vote-getter, and Chinese-educated intellectuals. Legislators serve as a communication link between the mass and the government for public support for the administration.

David K. Olson, *The Legislative Process* (1980) is a fine summary work on a wide and diverse body of prior research providing a descriptive and explanatory study about comparing the world's national legislatures with particular emphasis on the distinctive features of the U.S. Congress vis-a-vis other Parliaments.

M. Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties* (1902) and Robert Michels in *Political Parties*:
A Sociological Study of the Cliquarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy (1953) - both conclude on examination of the political parties' organizational developments, that the party organizations are inevitably controlled by small groups of activists and that popular control is both quite a sham and an impossibility. While for Ostrogorski Party Politics is 'caucus politics', for Mitchell all party organizations are subject to an "iron law of Elitarchy".

Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture (1963) is an empirical survey of attitude of peoples of the U.S.A., Britain, West Germany, Italy and Mexico, offering study on the extent and variables of participation, political socialisation, and providing the attitudinal dimensions of the people in regard to the institutions of democracy, and their representatives.

Michael Bush (1969) The Selection of Parliamentary Candidates stresses the centrality of the political party in recruitment of political elites. It highlights that it is a small coterie of partymen which wields the real power in this respect though autonomy is granted to the constituency level party organisations for selection of candidates, also.

Pita Mackelly and Mary Coutilier, The Making of Political Women: A Study of Socialization and Role Conflict (1970) is a good study on the factors related to the socialization and
political mobility of women, and the ways they take to political positions and the kind of role conflict they experience.

Rounaq Jahan, "Women in South Asian Politics" (1987) is an excellent study on socialization, recruitment of women, and the rise of women's movement and their position in the mainstream politics.

Ramashray Roy, "Selection of Congress Candidates" (1966-67) has dealt with the crucial role of the demographic variables in the support structure of the Congress Party and in the recruitment and nomination of party candidates.

S. Kochaneck's "Political Recruitment in the Indian National Congress" (1967) offers a study on how social factors like caste, community, regional, and traditional loyalties, always play an important role in recruitment and thus are decisive about reduction of central power.

Philip Mason, India and Ceylon: Unity in Diversity (1967) is a collection of studies on the problems of unity in these countries. Mason distinguishes the unity of the Indian political framework from the Indian traditional society, and describes five areas of diversity, but he is hopeful that the political machine, working as the link between the society and the state, could maintain the polity despite the religious, linguistic, regional, ethnic and caste diversities.
Forrester Duncan, "State Legislators of Madras" (1359) and Richard Brown, *Indian State Legislative Behaviour* (1971)—both attempted an analysis of the roles legislators in Indian states project, in response to their constituents, in particular.

L.M. Singhvi's "Parliament in the Indian Political System" in Kornberg and Musolf (eds) *Legislatures in Developmental Perspective* (1970) is a good study on the legislature's role in the developing political system of India, which establishes the Indian legislator's links with their constituents.

Myron Weiner's "India: Two Political Cultures" in Rye and Verba (eds) *Political Culture and Political Development* (1972) is a good study on the role of the elite in India's political development, and the elite and mass cultures in India. The conclusion by Verba offers a discussion on the origins and various dimensions of political culture, and the need of the study of some relevant aspects of political culture for the study of political systems.

P.R. Dubashi "The Role of Legislators in relation to his Constituency and Administration" (1972) is devoted to studying the Indian Legislators' activities and performances in relation to their constituency and administration.

Rajni Kothari (ed) *Caste in Indian Politics* (1973) is a collection of essays on the interaction between politics and
Kothari gives an analysis of the interaction between political system and social structure, and studies the diverse pattern in which this interaction takes place. Politicisation of caste and casteism in politics have been highlighted in this work. *Towards Equality* (1974-75) gives a very comprehensive study on the social, economic and political status of women in India. It finds that women in India have started giving features of a minority.

Oriram Maheshwari, "Constituency Linkages of National Legislators in India" (1976) deals with the pattern of the Indian Parliamentary Members' activities with regard to their constituencies.

Iqbal Narain and Shashilata Kuri, "Legislators in an Indian State: A Study of Role Images and the Pattern of Constituency Linkages" (1976) deals with the legislators' perceptions of their roles and people's expectations of their roles, and deals with a study of the pattern of constituency linkages of the legislators. It offers a party-wise analysis of legislators' perceptions.

Dayadhar Jha, *State Legislatures in India* (1977) attempted to identify the legislative behavioural trend by making limited use of the Wahlke et al's model of research design.
Shashilata Puri, *The Role Perception of Legislators in an Indian State* (1978) has tried to ascertain the roles Indian State legislators assume. The study creates new role constructs in view of the developing situation obtained in an Indian State's political set up.

V.P. Menon, *The Story of Integration of the Indian States* (1935) gives a detailed and chronological account of the integration of the numerous princely states in the Union of India.

V. Rajalakshmi, *The Political Behaviour of Women in Tamil Nadu* (1985) studies the factors relevant to women's participation in the political elite. She empirically shows how women are grossly under-represented in the legislature despite political equality conferred on women by the constitution. She gives a picture of the role of women in India's freedom movement, in politics in the state of Tamil Nadu.

Noena Sharma, *Political Socialization and Its Impact on Attitudinal Change Towards Social and Political System* (1985) offers a comparative study of the political socialisation of Harijan women living in Delhi and in rural areas. It tries to find out if the democratic political set up has any socializing effect on the lower sections of our society.
Deera Desai and Maithreyi Krishnaraj, *Women and Society in India* (1987) deals empirically with the position of women in India, and holds that as a result of interaction between a traditional patriarchal structure and capitalist development, the status of women has not uniformly improved in all sectors. It analyses women's position in the light of the economy, education, family, health, violence, and politics in the Indian situation.

*Shramashakti* (1988) provides the picture of the invisibility of women in economic activity although they are a majority in the unorganized informal sector of economic activity. It also finds that the woman's immense contribution to family welfare, family economy, and also, to the national economy is yet to be recognized.

Geeta Somjee, *Narrowing the Gender Gap* (1989) is an overview of the women's question in India, empirically studied from the overall perspective of the political, social, and economic backgrounds of Indian society. She emphasises the need of women's entering the workforce and of becoming wage earners in their own rights to effect significant changes in the status of women. With a comprehensive study on the Western and Eastern philosophies on the status of women, she focuses on the position of women in the family—both from the Indian traditional and modern contexts, and stresses on the gender view.
of equality of status for women in the family and in the workplace. She also makes an empirical study of the trends in the mobility of women in both the rural and urban areas, and also the interaction of women's vocational mobility with the class and caste structures of the Indian society.

Rai Sahib Jadunath Mohapatra, *Orissa in 1935-37 to 1938-39* (1941) is a very informative report on the electoral politics and government of Orissa which followed the formation of the province of Orissa. It gives an account of the political parties which contested elections, of the first popular government in Orissa, and the people's participation in elections.

K.K. Mahatab (chief ed.) and Charnashyam Das (ed.), *History of Freedom Movement in Orissa*, Vol. IV (1957) is an informative work on freedom movement and 'Praja Andolan' in Orissa. It provides a beautiful account of the political events that took place in Orissa during the Indian War of Independence and the circumstances that led to the merger of the Princely States in Orissa.

F.G. Bailey, *Caste and the Economic Frontier* (1958) gives a good, micro-level sociological enquiry which offers insight into the processes of socio-political transformations taking place in an Orissa village. It finds that the original
economic structure of the village broke down in the wake of commercial economy, thus divesting the caste system its traditional political role.

F.C. Bailey, *Political and Social Change in Orissa* in *1850* (1963) provides an excellent study on political sociology, which empirically investigates the social bases of political democracy. It surveys the relationship between parliamentary democracy and the traditional forms of political and social organisations in Orissa. People's expectations of the role of a representative are also one of the aspects of this study.

Sudhakar Pattnaik, *Sambad Patraru Orissa Katha* (in Oriya) (1966) discusses the socio-political conditions leading to the Oriya movement, the Utkal Sammilani activities and the role of the elite in the formation of the province of Crissa.

Iqbal Varain (ed.) *Seminar in State Politics* (1967) is a collection of essays on analyses of politics in the Indian States. S.C. Dash, "Emergence of Modern Orissa" in Varain (1967) provides a very good reading on Orissa Politics. Dash gives a historical analysis of the events leading to the creation of the state and the political changes that characterised Orissa politics up to 1967. Similarly, K.V. Rao, "Pattern of Orissa Politics" in Varain (1967) provides a study on the characteristics of politics and government of Orissa, particularly, the post-independence governments.
F.M. Patro, "Growth of Social Consciousness in Orissa in the 19th Century" (1970) gives a very systematic account of the socio-economic developments that led to the growth of social consciousness in Orissa. He gives a list of the socio-political associations which played a vital role in building up the political consciousness of Oriyas.

Pabitra Mohan "radhan, Sashanar Yathe Sainika (in Oriya) (1973) is an autobiographical work dealing mainly with Orissa's 'praja andolan' for democratisation and integration of the Princely States in Orissa.

Mohapatra, Orientations of College Students towards the Legislatures and Legislators in India (1975) offers the main empirical study on the "Threshold Elites" Orientations to some of the important structural and functional aspects of the State Legislature, and identifies that the students' expect the legislators' role to be predominantly ombudsmanic.

Narain (ed.) *State Politics in India* (1976) is a comparative study of politics in Indian states. Mishra and Chhetry in Narain (1976) deal with the lack of progress and political stagnation in Orissa in their "Politics of Political Stagnation".

N. N. Bas (ed.) *Highlights on History and Culture of Orissa* (1977) is "an exercise in the thematic arrangements" of the most important traits of Orissa's Culture" in a broader historical perspective. It is a "compendious treatise" aiming at a substance of Orissa's history and culture, shedding light on Orissa's land, people and history, and other socio-cultural dimensions. It provides very informative essays on Oriya movement, making of the province of Orissa, the freedom movement in Orissa.

Suniti Chosh, *Orissa in Turmoil* (1976) deals with the political upheavals and developments in Orissa's history of elections and governments up to 1971. He has given a good description of the politics of defections, politics of coalition, and the politics of commission which primarily contributed to the instability of governments during this period.
Mohapatra, "Ethnicity and Legislative Behaviour" (1979) deals with a dimension of the status of knowledge about legislative institutions, offering a very nice account of studies on ethnicity in the context of comparative legislative studies; socialization, recruitment and decruitment of the ethnics; their role orientations and role behaviour; and people's expectations of the role of the ethnics, creates useful role typologies like 'policy maker', 'servant' and 'ideologue'.

B.K. Mishra, *Political History of Orissa* (1979) studies the process of the formation of the province of Orissa offering descriptions of the Oriya movement, and an excellent account of the emergence of the Oriya elite and its role in the making of Orissa.

L.C. Patra, *Formation of the Province of Orissa* (1979) deals with the events of history leading to the creation of the province of Orissa in 1936 - including the growth of socio-political consciousness in the 19th century, the emergence of an elite class, and the Oriya Movement, etc.

K.M. Patra, *State Legislature and Freedom Struggle* (1979) is devoted to a historical analysis of the growth of political consciousness in Orissa, the participation of Oriya in the movement for the integration of the Oriya-speaking areas and the freedom struggle, the movement for the merger of
the princely States, and, at the same time, the history of Orissa Legislature and its role in the political development of Orissa. M.K. Sahu (ed.) *A History of Orissa* Vol. I & II (1980) furnishes a very faithful picture of Orissa's historical and cultural developments. It is a reprint from the selected works of the three famous orientalists (Hunter, Stirling and Beams) and incorporates Sahu's "Orissa from the earliest times to the present day".

P.K. Mishra, *Evolution of Orissa and Her Culture* (1934) traces the origins of Orissa's political identity and cultural unity through the times, from the early medieval period. It deals with the evolution of Orissa's empire from sub-regional states to their consolidation under the Gangas and Gajapatis. It studies the role of the cult of Jagannath in the emergence of the political empire of Orissa.

**THE LEGISLATIVE ROLE - THE CONCEPT**

The concept of a legislative role is central to the conceptualization of a legislative system, which consists of such sets of roles as are concerned with rule-making. A legislator projects a role in his varied capacities or positions. He develops a single or a set of patterns of norms
which are supposed to govern his behavioural responses whether to his co-legislators, or to his clienteles. His behaviour as a partyman may differ from his behaviour when he acts in the capacity of a representative of his constituency or of the interests of a particular interest group. But his actions in reference to one particular role under one circumstance may not be the same under another circumstance. Hence, the variations in his actions in response to his roles in one particular sector of roles would constitute his role-set. At the same time, his various capacities may make competing demands on him leading to a role-conflict a legislator is likely to experience at times.

SCOPE AND OBJECTIVES

The conceptual rationale of our present study is based on the Wahlke et al's model concept of 'legislative role', and it seeks to analyze the self-perceived role-orientations of the women members of the legislature embedded in the developing non-Western sub-cultural setting of Orissa state of Indian Union. Analysis of the role perceptions of the women legislators in some selected role sectors like the surposive, the representational, the areal, is sought in this study. It also seeks to identify their ombudsmanic role in their relation with
their constituents, and to ascertain their women-interest roles in the area of their relationship with women and women issues. It also aims at studying the women legislators' perception of the expectations of their constituents and the women. On the other hand, the research work includes exploration of the women legislative elite's orientations to a host of political, social, legal and economic issues about the status of women; to issues connected to some of the functional and structural dimensions of the State Legislature, and to issues related to amenities and conditions required for raising their functional efficiency, and the study of their orientations towards the representative-bureaucrat relation. But one of the major dimensions of our study is the examination of the pattern of consistency between the women legislators' role-concepts and role-behaviour. The study, thus, incorporates an explication of the women legislators' perceptions and performances.

As the study of role perceptions in an overall perspective requires the analysis of various other factors, our study involves delineation of the functions of the legislature, the analysis of the major historical, demographic and socio-economic aspects of Orissa's political culture, and of the size, composition, political content and structural parameters of Orissa Legislature. It also endeavours to trace the socio-economic milieus to identify the agents of their political socialization,
to discern the pattern of their recruitment and to analyse their career goal orientations.

Women constituting a half of the population of Orissa have remained marginalised in social, economic, political spheres of life and their status in these spheres continue to be unequal with the menfolk despite formal constitutional guarantees and promises about securing equality of status and opportunity to all, and about abolition of all forms of sexual discrimination. With the close of the women's decade, our study endeavours to find if there has taken place any change in the political status of women, especially as regards their representation in the state legislature, in the leadership structure of Orissa, and to explore their legislative behaviour, and their attitude to such women's interests and problems which have been widely recognised, all over the world, as just and as needing urgent political protection and solution.

And as has been mentioned above, one of the significant aspects of our study is that we have tried to find out congruence between the legislators' perceptions and behaviour in the legislative sphere, and also have tried to measure their adaptation to legislative life.
METHODOLOGY

Our research has used Nadel's 13 "second method" as followed in Wahlke et al.'s work as it is said 14 that study of overt actions has serious limitations. Moreover, since

13 See S.F. Nadel, The Theory of Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), p. 25 - Nadel has suggested three different ways for empirically investigating roles, which can be put as:
   i) Study of the overt actions (role behaviour),
   ii) analysis of own views (self-perceptions) on roles,
   iii) examination of the maintenance, or sanctions, machinery of the society. Nadel says: "...the first and third methods involve the piecing together of the role, while the second may furnish us with the total picture."; Also see Wahlke et al., The Legislative System, op.cit., pp. 238-240.

14 See Aahlke et al., The Legislative System, op.cit., pp. 236-40; Also see Wahlke, "Behavioural Analyses of Representative Bodies" in Austin Ranney (ed.) Essays in the Behavioural Study of Politics (Urbana, 1962), pp. 173-90 - reprinted in Samuel C. Patterson (ed.) American Legislative Behaviour (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co. Inc., 1968) p. 288 - "The limitations of this data source are obvious. The Legislature is a finite body of men engaging in a series of actions which, though not infinite, are certainly innumerable. They cannot all be observed simultaneously, let alone recorded for future analysis. And representatives' behaviour includes a large class of actions - the often-mentioned 'back-room deals', secret interchanges, communications by tone and gesture, etc. - which are forever inaccessible to any observing analyst."
there is no fixity\textsuperscript{15} in behavioural studies as regards the source of data about representatives' actions, our chief source of data in this study has been the perceptual orientations as elicited by interviews with the women legislators of Orissa. On the other hand, we have also used the method of observation of role-behaviour of smaller sample population (than we took for our role-analysis) to assess the compatibility between perceptual orientations and role performances of the women legislators. Hence, though the whole work is based on the analysis of attitudinal perceptions elicited by interview consisting of some structured and some open-ended questions, for the purpose of verifying the extent of the respondents' adaptation to legislative life and the degree of the conformity of their perceptions with their legislative performances the study adopted the

\textsuperscript{15} See Wahlke, "Behavioural Analyses of Representative Bodies" in Austin Ranney, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 387-86. "The requirement (by definition) that the data of behavioural studies consist ultimately of some record of the specifications or characteristics of specific human beings is neither rigorous nor restrictive. It does not single out any particular class of actions as the only legitimate object of research attention nor does it specify that data about representatives' action be drawn from any one particular source." See also Wahlke et al., \textit{The Legislative System}, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 31-32.
method of an analysis of their overt actions. And it is in this that our methodology is a combination of both the approaches discussed above. Again, besides the questions in the Interview schedule, a few verbal questions were asked for seeking clarification on some responses to our written questions. We personally collected all the data largely through interviews with the respondents.

DATA BASE

Our study is based on data obtained from interviews with the women legislators of Orissa Legislative Assembly from 1946 to 1985. Of the total 31 women legislators, only 22 could be included in the purview of our research as 9 (nine) had expired before we started with this work. One justification of our decision in favour of a longitudinal study including women members of ten Orissa Legislative Assemblies is the paucity of women in any one Assembly. Again, we have not precluded the only case of one woman legislator who was a member

16 See J. Crane, The Legislative struggle in Wisconsin (unpublished) Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin (1959)—it was based on a combination of interview schedule and observation techniques.
of Orissa Council of Ministers at the time of our interview
work partly because we did not like to make our sample popu­
lation smaller by one, and partly, because our role-analysis
is a study of the attitudinal orientations of the respondents.
But we took care to exclude such women members who occupied
ministerial offices during the period under study from the
scope of our study of the women legislators' overt actions.

For the analysis of role behaviour of women legislators
we chose a sample population drawn from only two Orissa
Assemblies as it would have required an enormity of time and
effort to go through the proceedings, debates and question­
answers of the State Legislature from its inception to date.
It may be made clear, here, that the inclusion of a minister
in our sample population for the study of the women legislators'
role concepts does not pose any methodological problem in so
far as there does not take place an overlaying of one Legis­
lative role upon another, especially, in our study of the overt
actions of the women legislators.

PROBLEM OF ACCESS TO THE RESPONDENTS

One of the greatest hurdles we had to encounter was in
connection with getting our respondents for interviews as a
larger section of them were ex-legislators. Secondly, the women
legislators of the pre-independence and early post-independence
Orissa assemblies remained for a good deal of days untraceable
as precise whereabouts of them were not available to us from
available sources. Similarly, for some of the women ex-legisla-
tors, who are presently residing in their own houses at the
capital of Orissa, we were misled, which caused on our part
unnecessary and expensive travels to villages as far as two
hundred kilometers from Bhubaneswar. But access to the women
members of the present State Assembly could be easily obtained.
However, when after traversing distances from Bhubaneswar we
were successful in getting most of the women legislators of the
past assemblies of Orissa interviewed, in some cases of the
women members of the present Assembly, whom we contacted at
their official residences in Bhubaneswar, getting an appointment
for our interview purpose, really, became very tough. Nearly
six months passed before interviews with all of our respondents
could be completed.

Both of the women legislators were interviewed at
their official residences at the Capital, three of them were
interviewed at their own houses at the Capital town, and one
of them gave us the interview at her own residence in Cuttack.
All the rest women legislators were interviewed at their
residences at their own native villages at distant places.
THEIR CANDOUR

In most of the cases, we had to read out the questions to our respondents and record their responses at appropriate places for them, and finally obtained their signatures at the end of the Interview Schedule – questionnaire. As there were also open-ended questions and some additional questions which we asked in a way to get further clarifications on different matters, we had to record the responses like a stenographer, and got them arranged in proper order later. However, most of the respondents were frank, straight and cooperative excepting a few who, for reasons not known to us, did not show much interest in our work.

DATA ANALYSIS

An elaborate code book was prepared on the completion of collection of the data and, then, the data were posted in the code sheet. The data were, then, put in tabular forms and analysed. But because of the multiplicity (diversity) in the response-patterns to our open-ended questions, only such respondents whose answers could be coded in a particular category were
taken as a base for computing percentages. In our analyses, the findings have not been subjected to the tests of statistical significance and, also, correlation co-efficients have not been found out. We have confined our analysis of the findings to deduction of the percentage distributions only.

HYPOTHESES

1. The women members of Orissa Legislative Assembly are likely to represent the upper strata of women of Orissa.

2. Family may likely be the only socializing agent for the women legislators of Orissa Assembly.

3. There is a pattern of relationship between agents of socialization, socio-economic status and time of development of interest in politics.

4. Women legislators are likely to possess career experiences before they enter into the Orissa Legislative Assembly.

5. The political party plays the role of an agent in recruiting candidates for election to the State Legislature of Orissa.

6. The women legislators of Orissa are committed fully to the legislative job.
7. The women legislators are likely to be more interested in articulating demands than in merely observing the rules and procedures of the Legislature.

8. The Orissa women legislators tend to follow the mandate of the constituents, and are likely to be Constituency-oriented.

9. The women legislators are likely to take keen interest in the promotion of women's interests.

10. There is likely congruence between the role perceptions and role performance of Orissa Women Legislators.